

The University of Chicago

WHITTIER'S USE OF HISTORICAL
MATERIAL IN *MARGARET*
SMITH'S JOURNAL

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE
FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR
OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

1933

By
CECIL BROWN WILLIAMS

Private Edition, Distributed by
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CHAPTER III

WHITTIER'S USE OF HISTORICAL MATERIAL

IN MARGARET SMITH'S JOURNAL

The Prefatory Note to Margaret Smith's Journal claims only a "general accordance with historical verities and probabilities."¹ A contemporary publisher's notice says:

This volume, edited by John G. Whittier, the poet, has recently been published, and is having a very extensive circulation. No book has appeared for many years that has excited more attention. The charm is never broken in its perusal, and from the first to the last page the life-like picture is preserved.²

George Rice Carpenter, in his biography of Whittier for the "American Men of Letters Series," praises Whittier for his antiquarian lore, for his thorough familiarity with the history of New England.³ Carpenter says in part:

. . . . no single modern volume could be found which has so penetrated the secret of colonial times in Massachusetts, for it is, almost line by line, a transcript and imaginative interpretation of old letters, journals, and memoirs. There is scarcely a passage in it that is not based on a given document⁴

The student of the Journal would naturally like to know

¹[J. G. Whittier], Leaves from Margaret Smith's Journal in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, 1678-9(Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1849). Appended to last number of serial publication, National Era, II(Nov. 9, 1848), 179, in slightly different form.

²This notice is found inserted in the back of S. S. Rawson, The Rawson Family(Boston: Published by the Family, 1849), pagged separately from the text. Whittier had said in his Prefatory Note to the Journal that a volume on the Rawson family was about to be published by the descendants. The book closes with important papers on the later life of Rebecca Rawson; and the notice by Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, follows immediately after, praising the Journal and giving excerpts from it.

³G. R. Carpenter, John Greenleaf Whittier(Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1903), pp. 244-6.

⁴Ibid., p. 246.

what use Whittier made of source materials. What were the sources which he certainly used? What others are probabilities? Which of the characters and events of the Journal are found in historical writings? Has Whittier followed his sources closely or invented and transposed with comparative freedom? In short, what is the relation of what he actually wrote to what he found in his studies? The number of characters and events in the Journal is too great¹ to permit a detailed examination and discussion in this chapter of all; here representative ones will be studied; some information on most of the others will be found in an appendix.

In terms of Margaret Smith's residence, the Journal may be divided into four parts, Newbury and Boston, Massachusetts; the vicinity of York, Maine; and Providence Plantations, Rhode Island. Margaret arrives at Boston, May 8, 1678, and goes immediately to her Uncle Rawson's summer home in Newbury. Here she remains until some time in August, when she decides to visit in Maine. August 18 she writes from Agamenticus, after having spent some time at the Isles of Shoals on the way. Apparently she is in Maine about two months, for she writes from Hampton, New Hampshire, on her return journey, October 24, and from Newbury two days later. Newbury is again her residence for some time except for a visit to Haverhill the last of November and the first of December. The last of December she goes with the Rawson family to their winter home in Boston. The next several months this is her residence with two exceptions. In January she makes an excursion to Reading for the ordination of Mr. Breck, and from May 10, 1679, to about May 28, she visits at her brother's home in Rhode Island. June 17, 1679, she reembarks for England, after having

¹There are in all about 120 characters. Of course not nearly all are actually present in the narrative; some are merely discussed; others little more than mentioned.

been in New England a little more than thirteen months. Of this time she is at Newbury about five months, in the northern Colonies, chiefly Maine, about two and one half months, Boston, five months, and Rhode Island somewhat more than half of one month.

This chapter will show that Newbury material was available for Whittier in Joshua Coffin's History of Newbury,¹ and was utilized freely. Material for Maine Whittier got chiefly from Folsom's History of Saco and Biddeford² and Williamson's History of Maine,³ with probably some additions from Belknap's History of New Hampshire,⁴ Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts,⁵ Josselyn's Voyages,⁶ and Farmer's Genealogical Register.⁷ Sources for Boston material are more difficult to trace, but Cotton Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana⁸ undoubtedly supplied considerable, Hutchinson's History, Sewel's History of the Quakers,⁹ and the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society¹⁰ some. Other works probably used include George Bishop's New England Judged,¹¹

¹Joshua Coffin, The History of Newbury, Newburyport, and West Newbury, from 1635 to 1845 (Boston: Samuel G. Drake, 1845).

²George Folsom, History of Saco and Biddeford (Saco: Alex. C. Putnam, 1830).

³W. D. Williamson, History of the State of Maine from the First Discovery in 1602 to 1820 (Hallowell: Glazier, Masters and Co., 1832), 2 vols.

⁴Jeremy Belknap, The History of New Hampshire (Ed. with Notes by John Farmer, Dover: S. C. Stevens and Ela and Wadleigh, 1831). (1st ed. 1784-91)

⁵Thomas Hutchinson, The History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay (Boston: T. and J. Fleet, 1764-1828), 3 vols.

⁶John Josselyn, An Account of Two Voyages to New England (Boston: W. Veazie, 1865). (Orig. ed. London, 1675)

⁷John Farmer, A Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New England (Lancaster, Massachusetts; Hilliard, Gray, and Co.; Boston: Carter and Hendee, 1829).

⁸Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana (Hartford: Silas Andrus and Son, 1853), 2 vols. (Orig. ed. London, 1702)

⁹William Sewel, The History of the Christian People Called Quakers (Philadelphia, Friends' Bookstore, 187-[?], 2 vols. in 1. (1st English ed. 1722)

¹⁰Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Series 1, I-X; Series 2, I-X; Series 3, I-IX (Boston: Printed for the Society, 1792-1846).

¹¹George Bishop, New England Judged (London: T. Sowle, 1703).

Savage's first edition of Winthrop's Journal,¹ and Edward Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence.² The part of the Journal dealing with Rhode Island does not show necessity of much specific source material, but there is evidence that Whittier used at least Roger Williams's Brief Observations³ and either Farmer's Register or Coffin's History of Newbury. John Callender's Historical Discourse on . . . Rhode Island⁴ might also have been utilized.

These sources in themselves are chiefly secondary, but include reprints of a large amount of primary material. There is evidence, moreover, that Whittier made some use of Essex County, Hampton Town, and Boston Statehouse records; to what extent he used them directly and to what he profited from the researches of Joshua Coffin remains somewhat uncertain. Whittier was also conversant with popular legendary material; at one point at least in the Journal he incorporated a story remembered from boyhood, and he probably used other material which came to him from oral sources. The use which Whittier made of his source materials will appear as the characters and events are discussed in order.

Margaret Smith's Journal is not clearly unified. Margaret Smith herself is hardly the central character, but rather an observer. Rebecca Rawson probably is expected to unify the story, and is called the heroine in a contemporary review.⁵ But she has

¹John Winthrop, The History of New England from 1630 to 1649 (Ed. James Savage, Boston: Phelps and Farnham, 1825; T. B. Wait and Son, 1826), 2 vols.

²Edward Johnson, Wonder-Working Providence of Zion's Saviour in New England (Andover, Massachusetts: Warren F. Draper, 1867). (1st ed. 1654)

³Roger Williams, Brief Observations of the Customs, Manners, Worship, etc., of the Natives, . . . and Key to the Indian Language; Collections of the Rhode Island Historical Society, I (Providence: John Miller, 1827).

⁴John Callender, An Historical Discourse on the Civil and Religious Affairs of Rhode Island (Boston: T. H. Webb and Co., 1843).

⁵New England Historical and Genealogical Register, III, 298.

little to do with Margaret's adventures in Maine and Rhode Island.

Edward Rawson, referred to by Margaret Smith as "Uncle Rawson", is a fairly well known historical figure. His name appears with great frequency in the colonial records, for he was the first town clerk of Newbury and was Secretary of the Colony of Massachusetts from 1651 to 1686. This information is found in The Rawson Family, which was not in print when Whittier wrote, but was probably accessible in manuscript.¹ Joshua Coffin's History of Newbury also gives information on Rawson. This work, written by Whittier's old schoolmaster and published in 1845, was certainly accessible, although Whittier does not have a reference to it in his Works until later. There is a cross reference to it in The Rawson Family² and an acknowledgment in the Preface of contribution by Coffin of valuable matter,³ indicating that Coffin was a recognized authority on Newbury genealogy. John Farmer in the Preface to his Genealogical Register names Coffin as one of four persons to whom he is greatly indebted. We may observe here that Whittier was singularly fortunate in having as a friend and associate an outstanding antiquarian. At least two of Whittier's important historical poems have their sources in Coffin's History of Newbury. These are "The Prophecy of Samuel Sewall"⁴ and "The Double-Headed Snake of Newbury".⁵ In his foreword to the former Whittier points to Coffin as his source, and for the latter he quotes as his prefatory note a passage which is found in Coffin.⁶ Whittier was not ungrateful to Coffin, for in introducing "To My

¹See footnote on p. 26.

²The Rawson Family, p. 8.

³Ibid., Preface, p. iii.

⁴J. G. Whittier, Works (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co., 1892), I, 210-215. Written in 1859.

⁵Ibid., pp. 192-195. Also written in 1859.

⁶Coffin, History of Newbury, p. 195.

Old Schoolmaster", he wrote "Addressed to my worthy friend Joshua Coffin, teacher, historian, antiquarian".¹

Whittier may have become interested in the Rawson family first because Edward Rawson was conspicuous in the Quaker persecutions,² but he probably placed them prominently in the Journal because he saw in Rebecca's experiences good possibilities for arousing interest in the early period. Rebecca's part in the Journal is basically authentic history. According to documents included in Coffin's History of Newbury³ and in The Rawson Family⁴ as a reprint from Coffin, Rebecca "was accounted one of the most beautiful, polite, and accomplished ladies in Boston." The impostor Thomas Rumsey came to the colony in March, 1678, and hired himself out to work for Theodore Atkinson of Boston. In a short time he refused to work further and announced to his employer that he was of noble birth, being actually Sir Thomas Hale, nephew of the Lord Chief Justice Hale. He was able to set forth his pretensions convincingly, and soon began to pay court to Rebecca Rawson. His suit proving successful, he and Miss Rawson were married July 1, 1679. Her subsequent experiences in England and her death in the Port Royal earthquake differ from those in the Sequel of the Journal only in the language in which they are related. Whittier supplied all of the conversation for Rebecca, and invented some incidents, such as her freeing of her servant girl Effie and her visit with Margaret Smith to the Indian camp.⁵

The source for Rebecca Rawson's part in the Journal, then, could have been the actual papers in the statehouse at Boston, but was more likely Coffin's history, an available and more convenient

¹Works, IV, 73-79.

²The Rawson Family, pp. 9-11.

³Pp. 397, 398.

⁴Pp. 145, 146.

⁵Margaret Smith's Journal, pp. 6-10, 45, 46.

source. Whittier's note in his sequel that the papers are on file in the statehouse could have been taken from Coffin;¹ it need not mean that he himself had seen them.

Margaret Smith herself is evidently a fictitious character, as is also her brother Leonard. In the Journal she is an English girl, making an extended visit to New England,² and is represented as a niece of Edward Rawson, and cousin of Rebecca. Later, when Whittier shifts the scene to the northern provinces, we learn that she is also a niece of Edward Hilton of the Piscataqua settlements³ and of a certain Smith of Agamenticus, Marshal of the Province. This was evidently the John Smith in the list of the first settlers of Saco. He gave deposition as Marshal of Lygonia in 1658 and still held office in June, 1685. Whittier's source for John Smith was evidently Folsom's History of Saco and Biddeford⁴ for his name is little known in other New England historical works. In Folsom nothing is said of his family and little of his career other than that he was Marshal; Whittier evidently invented the roles of Margaret's Aunt Smith and her Cousins Folly and Thankful.

Leonard Smith is not an itinerant as is his sister, and should be in the Colonial records, if he is a real person. Savage has an entry for a Leonard Smith, "Providence, of wh. I see nothing,

¹History of Newbury, p. 399.

²A contemporary review of Margaret Smith's Journal says:

"It purports to be a journal--or rather, leaves from a journal--of a young English lady, who visited the Province of Massachusetts Bay in 1678-9, for no other apparent purpose than to write this journal and see her relatives. She fortunately had relations scattered all along, from the Providence plantations to Agamenticus, or York, now Maine; and in visiting them, enjoyed uncommon advantages for seeing the country, and becoming acquainted with the chief men of the province, in Church and state." Living Age, XX (March 10, 1849), p. 454.

³See Appendix.

⁴Pp. 32-5, 87, 92, 122, 166. There is an unimportant reference in Williamson's History of Maine, I, 239. See also James Savage, A Genealogical Dictionary of First Settlers of New England, to May, 1692 (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1860-62), 4 vols., IV, p. 118.

but that he was among those who in June 1668, engag. alleg."¹ He is not in Farmer's Register, and Savage was not yet in print, but there is a possibility that Whittier may have known of this Leonard Smith and used him as the original of his character; his being obscure would be an advantage.

Whittier's choice of name for the Diarist herself is matter for speculation. The anonymity of Smith may have been a factor; intent to use John Smith of Maine may have been also. There was at least one Margaret Smith in the Colonies, but she has nothing in common with Whittier's character. She was a persecuted Quaker woman, who was imprisoned in August, 1659, and whipped with others, September 11, 1659.²

The Journal presents Leonard Smith as a student of theology under the Reverend John Ward at Haverhill. He becomes discontented with the stern Puritan theology and, influenced by the Quaker Margaret Brewster, ultimately becomes a Quaker and abandons theological studies to settle upon a farm in the Narragansett Plantations.³

The portrait of Margaret Brewster shows Whittier making rather free use of historical source materials. Coffin has, among his rather meager entries for 1677, an account of Margaret Brewster.⁴ He cites Judge Sewall's record in his diary under date of July 8, 1677, that:

"A female quaker (Margaret Brewster) in sermon time came in a canvass frock, her hair dishevelled, loose like a periwig, her face as black as ink, led by two other quakers, and two other Quakers followed. It occasioned the greatest and most amazing uproar that ever I saw."⁵

¹Genealogical Dictionary, IV, p. 126.

²George Bishop, New England Judged, pp. 99, 112.

³Journal, pp. 5, 125-131, 146, 149, 150, 192, ff.

⁴History of Newbury, p. 120.

⁵Ibid. See Samuel Sewall, Diary of Samuel Sewall, Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Ser. 5, V (Boston: Published by the Society, 1878), p. 43.

Coffin continues:

She had previously taken off her stockings and shoes, and left them in the porch of the meeting-house, under the care of John Easton, son of Nicholas Easton, formerly of Newbury.¹

Coffin indicates in a footnote that Sewall's church was the Old South, Boston. In the Journal the scene is changed to the Newbury church, and the date made July 6, 1678, almost exactly a year later. Another available source states that Margaret Brewster came from Barbadoes and went into New England Meetings to warn against smallpox with blackened face in 1678.² We may note that this date and not Coffin's or Sewall's is the one which Whittier uses. Governor Leverett had the Quaker woman stripped and whipped for her conduct, according to Bishop; in the Journal her fine is paid by her friends, and she goes unpunished. In his poem, "In the 'Old South'",³ in 1877, Whittier presents Margaret Brewster in her historical character.

But in the Journal her character is greatly amplified.⁴ She is given a home and parents in Newbury and is shown as a gracious, kindly, and attractive young woman with whom Leonard Smith falls in love and whom he eventually marries, removing to Rhode Island, and thus giving Margaret Smith occasion to visit there before her return to England.

Margaret Brewster's character is partially brought out by her ministrations to one Elnathan Stone,⁵ a young man mortally wounded in the late Indian wars. No one named Stone is given in Coffin's genealogical list in his History of Newbury, and there

¹History of Newbury, p. 120. Sewall's Diary, p. 43.

²Bishop, New England Judged, pp. 329, 472, 473. See also Richard P. Hallowell, The Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co., 1884), pp. 192-202, for a full account of the trial of Margaret Brewster, and further light on her historical character.

³Works, I, p. 371, ff.

⁴Pp. 21, 33, 38, 40, 41, 128-130, 149-151.

⁵P. 24, ff., pp. 46, 47.

is no one in Farmer's Register whom Whittier could likely have had in mind. Elnathan Stone seems most likely introduced through one or more of three reasons, to show Margaret Brewster's character, to give Whittier a chance to describe a New England funeral, and to afford opportunity for discussion of the Indian question.

Elnathan Stone and his mother talk at length with Margaret Smith and Rebecca Rawson about the Indians. The mother is resentful, her son inclined to appreciate the Indian's point of view. He tells of experiences with Squando, famous chief of the Sokokis. Whittier uses here two historical incidents, one the maltreatment of Squando's child by white sailors and the other Squando's return of a captive white girl to Major Waldron at Cochecho(Dover). The first incident is found in Belknap's History of New Hampshire,¹ and both in Folsom's History of Saco and Biddeford.² The ultimate source of information on Squando appears to be Hubbard's Indian Wars,³ but Whittier probably used Folsom, who cites Hubbard; Whittier's account follows Folsom's closely.

Robert Pike of Newbury appears in the Journal as the childhood playmate and rejected suitor of Rebecca Rawson, as a friend of Margaret Brewster, and as an exponent of liberal ideas.⁴ He is an authentic historical character, but Whittier invents most of his role in the Journal. His father, Lieutenant Robert Pike, who also has a role in Whittier's tale,⁵ was fined and disfranchised for protesting in the name of civil and ecclesiastical liberty against the punishment of Joseph Peasley and Thomas Macy for

¹Pp. 70-71.

²Pp. 154-158.

³William Hubbard, History of the Indian Wars in New England(Roxbury, Mass.: W. E. Woodward, 1865), 2 vols. (1st pub.1677), I, pp. 104, 135.

⁴Journal, pp. 5, 7, 8, 12, 15, 16, 18, 22, 36, 41, 93, 139, 149, 211.

⁵Ibid., pp. 91, 92, 213, 215.

preaching in the absence of a minister, according to Coffin.¹ He died in 1706, "The worshipful major Robert Pike", in Coffin's words,² and a "useful and respectable man" according to Farmer.³ Robert, Jr., his youngest child, was born in 1655, a year before Rebecca Rawson.⁴ Robert Pike in the Journal often appears to be the voice of toleration protesting against bigotry and superstition.

After three months on her Uncle Rawson's plantation at Newbury, Margaret Smith decides to visit her relatives in Maine. Here she spends two and a half months, going by way of the Isles of Shoals, and returning overland through Portsmouth and Hampton, New Hampshire.⁵ Whittier was familiar with the Isles of Shoals, being well acquainted with Celia Thaxter, who lived there, and an occasional visitor there himself.⁶ His interest in the islands would partially account for his descriptions of them in the Journal, but his familiarity with their early importance probably suggested giving them some emphasis, and at the same time making use of their rather colorful materials to add interest to the narrative.⁷

Whittier's interest in northern New England was a natural one. His mother was from New Hampshire, and her mother in turn

¹History of Newbury, p. 58.

²Ibid. p. 314.

³Genealogical Register, p. 229.

⁴Ibid., pp. 229, 230. Whittier seems to have known much more about the Pike family than was available in printed form at the date of the Journal. A more recent work, James S. Pike, The New Puritan: New England Two Hundred Years Ago, etc. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1879), for which Whittier wrote a commendatory foreword, portrays the elder Robert Pike, especially, as important in the early championship of toleration in New England.

⁵Journal, p. 53, ff.

⁶Frank P. Stearns, Sketches from Concord and Appledore (New York: 1895), p. 235.

⁷Ibid., pp. 223-276. See also Williamson, History of Maine, I, 277.

was from Maine.¹ His brother Franklin was living in Portland in 1843, and he himself had seriously considered an offer to edit a paper there in 1837.² His poem Mogg Megone, 1834, was based on Maine history.

Margaret Smith writes from the Isles of Shoals various matters of interest, including anecdotes of customs and traditions. She tells of the curing of the Dun fish, an industry for which the place is famous. "They split the fishes, and lay them on the Rocks in the Sun, using little Salt, but turning them often."³ William-says:

It was on these Islands that the dun fish was cured in so celebrated a manner as to be known in Spain and other places in the Mediterranean.... The fish is caught in the summer season, cured on the rocks by drying them slowly and very carefully without much salt.⁴

Margaret continues:

We noted a great split in the Rocks, where, when the Indians came to the Islands many years ago, and killed some and took others captive, one Betty Moody did hide herself, and which is hence called "Betty Moody's Hole."⁵

Williamson had again, as in the case of the dun fish, in a footnote:

In one of these, viz. Star Island is "Betty Moody's Hole", where she secreted herself, at a time when the Indians carried "many female captives,"--probably in King Philip's war.⁶

¹Pickard, Life and Letters, p. 9.

²Ibid., pp. 156-7, 291.

³Journal, p. 54.

⁴History of Maine, I, p. 24, footnote. An unsigned article in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Ser. 1, VII, (1800) 242-260, gives considerable information on the Isles of Shoals similar to that used by Whittier. He could have known of this, but comparison of the two accounts indicates Williamson as at least the chief source. The article discusses curing of the "winter, or dumb, fish", but the description is not much like Whittier's. See Collections, pp. 247-9.

⁵Journal, p. 54.

⁶History of Maine, I, 276. See Nathaniel Hawthorne, American Notebooks, Works, (University Edition), IX, pp. 418-19 under entry date of Sept. 6, 1852, for a similar account of Betty Moody. Hawthorne says he got the story from residents of the Isles, Joe Caswell and Mr. Thaxter. The article in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (See note 2), also (p. 244) has a brief sketch of Betty Moody's Hole.

Margaret also recounts, ostensibly as told by the Minister of the Isles, a Mr. Hull, the story of one Foxwell, a planter of Saco.¹ Farmer says Richard Foxwell was a merchant at Scituate in 1634, and that he later went to Saco, where he died in 1677.² Farmer refers to Coffin and Folsom as sources. In a footnote in Folsom we find an account of the same incident that Whittier tells, in very similar language.³ Folsom gives the material as a direct quotation from John Josselyn's 1838 Voyage, but comparison with Josselyn shows that Folsom simplified the story considerably.⁴ Whittier could have used as a source either Josselyn or Folsom, since he was acquainted with both, but phraseology and general probability point to Folsom, especially since, as shown above, Whittier almost certainly used Folsom as source for facts about Margaret's Uncle John Smith, whom she was on her way to visit.

The minister continues with an account of Passaconaway, "Chief of the River Indians." The Indian magician has been known to change a dry snake skin into a living reptile, and it is believed by his tribe that he can brew storms, make water burn, and cause green leaves to grow on trees in winter.⁵ There is a passage in Williamson⁶ which ascribes all of these powers except burning water to Passaconaway. Hutchinson's account of Passaconaway is more like Whittier's, and includes the part missing from Williamson.⁷ Whittier might have used Hutchinson directly, or he could have used instead Belknap's History of New Hampshire, where Hutchinson's description of Passaconaway is quoted.⁸

¹Journal, pp. 56, 57.

²Genealogical Register, p. 112.

³History of Saco and Biddeford, p. 118.

⁴Josselyn, Two Voyages to New England, p. 23.

⁵Journal, p. 57.

⁶History of Maine, I, 461.

⁷Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, I, 419-420.

⁸P. 66. (Farmer's edition).

While the party is on the Isles, Rebecca says that Mr. Abbott has told her of an order of the General Court many years ago, forbidding women to live on the Islands.¹ Williamson tells of "A curious memorial, presented to the court..." in 1647. This was a petition of Richard Cutts and John Cutting, praying that John Reynolds be required to remove his goats and swine from Hog Island and that he be brought within the terms of "an order, or act of court, which says--'no woman shall live on the Isles of Shoals.'"² In the Journal the answer to the petition is quoted:

That a Petition having been sent to the Court, praying that the Law might be put in force in respect to John Abbott his Wife, the Court doe judge it meet, if no further Complaint come against her, that she enjoy the companie of her Husband.³

Williamson says:

In compliance with the request, the court ordered Reynolds to remove his swine and goats from Hog Island within 20 days, and also from such other Islands as were inhabited by fishermen. But as to "the removal of his wife," it is "thought fit by the court," that "if no further complaint come against her, she may enjoy the company of her husband."⁴

While Margaret is visiting at her Uncle's home in Agamenticus she finds that her cousin Polly Smith is in love with a young Mr. Jordan, of Spurwink. Polly's lover is a "right comely" youth, "but a great churchman, as might be expected, his Father being the

¹Journal, pp. 58, 59.

²History of Maine, I, 304.

³Journal, p. 59.

⁴History of Maine, I, 304. Williamson seems rather clearly to have been the chief source used by Whittier. But another important account which he may have known is that in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Ser. 1, VII(1800), 250-251. Williamson cites this and also Collections, Ser. 1, I, p. 103, as his sources. The author of the account in Vol. VII says he got the story from Hon. David Sewall of York. Savage also mentions the "no Woman" order and refers to 1 Collections, VII, 250 as his source. John Smith, as noted above, lived at Saco. Just why Whittier has him living at Agamenticus is problematical; he may be covering up his source; i. e., Folsom's History, to some extent. Or he may have felt that Agamenticus was more colorful, since it was probably the first settlement in Maine and was a place of Sir Ferdinando Gorges's particular patronage. (Williamson, I, 231, 265, 289). Mt. Agamenticus, which Margaret and her cousin climb, was visible from Job's Hill, on the Whittier homestead. (Carpenter, John Greenleaf Whittier, p. 298.)

Minister of the Black Point People, and verie bitter towards the Massachusetts, and its Clergy and Government."¹ Whittier was probably more interested in the elder Mr. Jordan. Folsom says the Reverend Robert Jordan arrived at Spurwink about 1640. He fought the authority of Massachusetts and was tried before the General Court in 1657. He called the governor of Boston a rogue and other Bostonians traitors and rebels against the King.² Williamson says that he was one of the first two ministers of Casco and was of the Episcopal communion, also that he arrived in the colony in 1640 and lived mostly at Spurwink.³ Whittier is correct in his interpretation of Jordan's character and his role in Maine history; he is in error, however, in designating his residence as Spurwink in 1678, for he had moved to the mouth of the Piscataqua in 1675 at the outbreak of the Indian wars, and died there in 1679.⁴ Savage says that the Reverend Robert Jordan had a son Robert who "did not sustain the reputation of his father."⁵

Margaret Smith tells also of a visit to the iron mines a short distance from Agamenticus. Her Aunt Smith tells her "manie wonderful stories of the man who caused it to be digged." He was a famous doctor of physic and by repute a great wizard also.⁶ This character, not called by name at all in the Journal, seems clearly to have been the now famous Dr. Robert Child, who as "Robert Child, Remonstrant", is the subject of an entire chapter in S. E. Morison's Builders of the Bay Colony.⁷ Whittier's wizard of the

¹Journal, p. 61.

²Folsom, History of Saco and Biddeford, pp. 79-80, 87-8, 92-3, 104, 127.

³Williamson, History of Maine, p. 395, footnote.

⁴Folsom, pp. 79-80; Williamson, p. 395.

⁵Genealogical Dictionary, II, 569.

⁶Journal, p. 65.

⁷S. E. Morison, Builders of the Bay Colony (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1930), pp. 244-268. Whittier had previously discussed Dr. Child in The Supernaturalism of New England (London: Wiley and Putnam, 1847), Here he remarked on the

iron mines had studied at "the great College of Padua", and he had bought a patent of land on the south side of the Saco from Mr. Vines, the first owner.¹ Whittier's chief source for this material was evidently Folsom, who printed a copy of the deed of Richard Vines of Saco, conveying the lands on the Saco to "Robert Child, Esq., Doctor of Physick".² He says also that Child wanted the lands for working of mines of the useful metals, and brought over from Derbyshire a miner to make experiments, the latter pronouncing the iron of York not of good quality. Folsom also mentions the study of medicine at the University of Padua, but does not say anything about the interest in alchemy, which Prof. G. L. Kittredge in a study published in 1919 has discussed at length,³ and which probably accounts for the Doctor's reputation as a wizard. It seems curious that Whittier says nothing of the petition to the General Court, for this was discussed by Folsom in terms complimentary to the Doctor, and Whittier was interested in liberal tendencies.⁴ The attribution by Whittier to Dr. Child of the finding of Uncle Smith's lost cow is a gratuitous addition to Folsom, for, according to Pickard, Whittier was known to tell such a story as a recollection from boyhood days when he heard it at Haverhill from a visiting Congregational minister as an account of the latter's own experiences as a theological student.⁵

As another character in the Maine group, Whittier

Doctor's studies in astrology and occult philosophy, (pp. 46-48) and commented upon his fortunate escape from the vigilance of early Puritanism, which frowned upon and punished all such studies.

¹Journal, p. 65.

²History of Saco and Biddeford, p. 74.

³G. L. Kittredge, "Robert Child the Remonstrant," Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions (1919), XXI, pp. 1-146.

⁴This is the more surprising in that Whittier had considered this matter in the Supernaturalism of New England (pp. 47-8) in terms very complimentary to Dr. Child. He may have been deliberately avoiding repetition.

⁵Whittierland, pp. 40-42.

introduced Sir Christopher Gardiner, who had already figured in Miss Sedgwick's novel, Hope Leslie,¹ and who was to appear again in 1849 as the villain of John L. Motley's romance, Merry-mount.² Gardiner appeared a number of times in early New England history; it would be difficult, if not impossible, to tell certainly where Whittier got his knowledge of him. Folsom told of his coming to Maine, and called him a gentleman of whom much had been said by early historical writers. He had been accused as a spy and papist, and had also been the subject of vague charges of immorality which had not been substantiated.³ The first part of Whittier's account follows Folsom's closely, but the characters of Gardiner and his "cousin" are developed at some length, and Whittier adds a poem published in his Works as "The Knight of St. John", and written in 1843.⁴ It may be observed that Whittier follows Folsom in clearing Gardiner from charges of immorality and villainy, and thereby differs from Miss Sedgwick and Motley, and also from the conclusions reached in what is now considered the most authoritative account of Gardiner, that by C. F. Adams.⁵

After staying in Maine long enough to become familiar with the atmosphere of the Province, and after remarking on its less sober and grave spirit than that of Massachusetts,⁶ Margaret Smith returns to Newbury by way of Strawberry Bank (now Portsmouth) and Hampton, New Hampshire. At Hampton she learns of the witchcraft

¹Catharine Maria Sedgwick, Hope Leslie, or Early Times in Massachusetts (New York: White, Gallaher, and White, 1827).

²John Lathrop Motley, Merry-Mount, A Romance of the Massachusetts Colony (Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe and Co., 1849).

³History of Saco and Biddeford, pp. 56-8.

⁴Works, I, p. 62.

⁵C. F. Adams, Sir Christopher Gardiner, Knight (From Vol. XX of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society) (Cambridge: John Wilson and Son, 1883. See also J. T. Adams, "Sir Christopher Gardiner, Knight of the Holy Sepulchre," Bookman, LXVIII (1928), 311-355.

⁶Journal, p. 70.

case of Eunice Cole, and meeting her Uncle Rawson there and being told by him that he has the records of the trial, she resolves to learn more of the matter when she gets back to Newbury.¹ The testimony which she says she copies from her Uncle's records purports to be taken from records of Hampton, in 1656. I have not compared the testimony with the actual Hampton records, but it shows definite verbal resemblance to the partial copies found in Dow's History of Hampton.² Whittier evidently had access either to the records or to a copy. He was living at Amesbury, and might have consulted Hampton records without great difficulty. It seems probable, however, that here, as frequently, Whittier owed some debt to Joshua Coffin, who is known to have copied from Hampton Town Records,³ and was authorized in 1827 by the New Hampshire legislature to copy extensively from the Colonial Records.⁴ Here he certainly came in contact with records of the Cole witchcraft case, for reprints from his records include a copy of a court order for the release of "Unice" Cole in 1662.⁵

Margaret Smith in continuing her account of the Cole case says Goody Cole was tried "five years Ago" by the County Court of Salisbury, and then again at Boston by the Court of Assistants.⁶ Dow's History tells of the Salisbury trial,⁷ in 1672. The "five years ago" of the Journal would make it 1673. The final trial, by the Court of Assistants, was in 1680, according to a note by

¹Journal, p. 92.

²Joseph Dow, History of the Town of Hampton, New Hampshire, from its Settlement in 1638 to 1892(Ed. and Pub. by his Daughter, 1893) 2 vols., p. 54.

³Belknap, History of New Hampshire(Ed. 1831), p. 57, footnote.

⁴"Ancient Documents and Records Relating to New Hampshire", Provincial Papers, Documents and Records Relating to the Province of New Hampshire(Concord: George E. Jenks, 1867), I, 154.

⁵Ibid., pp. 241-2.

⁶Journal, pp. 96, 97.

⁷Dow, History of the Town of Hampton, pp. 79-80.

Whittier on Goody Cole.¹ Whittier later used his knowledge of the Cole witchcraft case in his poem, "The Wreck of Rivermouth", 1864, and in "The Changeling", in 1865.² Dow in referring to the former poem said that Whittier had taken liberties with facts in the case, allowable in a poet, but unpardonable in a historian.³ In the Journal, however, the records seem to be adhered to rather scrupulously, except that Margaret in 1678 tells of the Boston trial which did not take place until 1680.

Margaret Smith's interest in witchcraft continues after her return to Newbury, where the haunted house of William and Elizabeth Morse is being watched with great concern by the neighbors. The Reverend Mr. Richardson preaches an anti-witchcraft sermon in which he attributes the evil power to the influence of the heathen Indians roundabout.⁴ It seems likely that Whittier invented this sermon for purposes of the story; he had much earlier discussed the Puritan notion that the Indians were sorcerers, in his prefatory note to "The Spectre Warriors" in the Legends of New England,⁵ and again in "The Supernaturalism of New England."⁶ In the former he referred to Mather's Magnalia⁷ and in the latter cited Mather and Winslow. Mr. Richardson was the minister of Newbury in 1678, but there seems to be no evidence that he was active in the Morse witchcraft case. He was a comparatively young man, having graduated from Harvard College in 1666 and having been ordained as minister of Newbury in 1675.⁸

¹Works, IV, p. 393.

²Ibid., pp. 235-240 and 255-259.

³History of the Town of Hampton, p. 54.

⁴Journal, p. 93, ff.

⁵J. G. Whittier, Legends of New England (Hartford: Hamner and Phelps; Boston: Carter, Hendee and Babcock, 1831), 76.

⁶Pp. 5-7.

⁷Whittier refers to Book 7, Article 18, in the Magnalia.

⁸Farmer, Register, p. 243; Coffin, History of Newbury, pp. 115, 116.

His material for the Morse witchcraft case Whittier found for the most part ready to his hand in Coffin's History of Newbury.¹ Coffin gave most of his space in his entries for 1679, 1680, and 1681 to the case.² He reproduced much of the actual court records. Whittier tells of the seaman Caleb Powell's relation to the case. Powell is first suspected of being the wizard.³ For Powell's part Whittier followed Coffin closely, except that he moved up the date about a year; according to the court records which Coffin quoted, Powell was not arraigned until December, 1679, and his case was not finally disposed of until the March term of the Ipswich court, 1680.⁴

After Powell was acquitted, suspicion in the case began to be directed to Elizabeth Morse. Whittier supplied for her part one incident not in Coffin, that of her fainting in the church when Mr. Richardson preached against witchcraft.⁵ He has Margaret Smith record that she was in jail in January, 1679. She was tried by the Court of Assistants, between June 4th and 8th of the same year, and sentenced to death, being reprieved, however, to the October court session.⁶ In Coffin she was presented in May, 1680, found guilty, and sentenced by the governor on May, 27th, and reprieved by the governor and magistrates on the first of June to the October court session.⁷ Thus it appears that Whittier had to

¹But he had used Cotton Mather's account in "The Haunted House", Legends of New England, much earlier. (See Legends of New England, p. 75). In his account of the case in The Supernaturalism of New England (pp. 36, 37) he cites Increase Mather's Remarkable Providences and Cotton Mather's Magnalia, and also gives the page reference to "a full and accurate account of the case" in Coffin's History of Newbury.

²History of Newbury, pp. 122-135.

³Journal, p. 62.

⁴Coffin, History of Newbury, pp. 123-126.

⁵Journal, p. 94.

⁶Ibid., pp. 148, 212-215.

⁷History of Newbury, pp. 126-127.

move up the case a year to bring it within the compass of the Journal. Coffin cited the accounts of the case in Increase Mather's Remarkable Providences and Cotton Mather's Magnalia;¹ these Whittier seems to have known at first hand;² but he seems to have depended on Coffin much more than on the primary sources; except for differences in date, his account is essentially Coffin's.³

Two weeks after Mr. Richardson's sermon, Doctor Russ, formerly of Wells but now of near Cochecho, preached in the Newbury church a sermon stressing mutual benevolence, counseling kindness to Indians and disbelievers, and warning against intolerance and tendency to magnify superstitious beliefs.⁴

Dr. Russ is not a well known historical character. He is not in Coffin's History of Newbury, nor in so far as I have been able to find, in Folsom's and Williamson's histories. Farmer's Genealogical Register has an entry for a John Russ, who was at Newbury in 1635 and died at Andover in 1692.⁵ Oddly enough, Farmer indicates Coffin as his source. Savage has little more information, except that he calls Russ "Reverend".⁶ Farmer says he had a son John born in 1642; Savage says 1641. Savage also mentions a Richard Russ, a soldier possibly of Weymouth, who was wounded in the Indian fight in which Captain Lathrop was killed; he might have been the original of Whittier's mention of a son of Dr. Russ killed by the Indians.⁷ I can find no record that any one named Russ was ever a minister either at Wells, Maine, or near Cochecho

¹See Increase Mather, Remarkable Providences(London: J. R. Smith, 1856), pp. 101-111, and Cotton Mather, Magnalia, II, pp. 450-452.

²See note 3, preceding page.

³Whittier's treatment of the Cole and Morse witchcraft cases will be discussed again from a different point of view in Chapter IV.

⁴Journal, pp. 99-106.

⁵P. 249.

⁶Genealogical Dictionary, III, p. 589.

⁷Journal, p. 104.

(Dover), New Hampshire. There was, however, according to Farmer,¹ a John Buss, a physician and a preacher, who was born about 1640, approximately the date of the younger Russ, who preached and practiced medicine at Durham, New Hampshire, which is near Dover, from 1678, following. John Buss is discussed briefly in Felt's Ecclesiastical History;² in Lawrence's New Hampshire Churches;³ and in Belknap's History of New Hampshire.⁴ Farmer says he was not a settled minister. Felt calls him "a worthy laborer" who came to Oyster River(Durham) in 1675. Lawrence says he came in 1674 and was a minister and physician for over 33 years. Lawrence also says that Durham was not fully separated from Dover until 1732.

The authorities already cited are chiefly concerned with the career of the Reverend John Buss in New Hampshire. "An Account of Wells", prepared in 1825 by Jeremiah Hubbard and Jonathan Greenleaf,⁵ says that the Reverend John Buss began to officiate as Minister at Wells in 1672, that he remained for about ten years, and then went to Durham, New Hampshire, where he was called Dr. Buss. A more recent historical work contains similar information.⁶ The references to John Buss, then, disagree somewhat, especially as regards date, but taken together, they make it seem probable that John Buss, and not a Mr. Russ, was the original of Whittier's character. Buss was a liberal, progressive person; both his career and his character resemble that of Whittier's Dr. Russ. Whittier

¹Genealogical Register, p. 50.

²J. B. Felt, Ecclesiastical History of New England(Boston: Congregational Library Association, 1855-62), II, 647.

³R. F. Lawrence, The New Hampshire Churches(Claremont, New Hampshire: Published by the Author, 1856), pp. 326-7.

⁴Belknap, History of New Hampshire, p. 139.

⁵Jeremiah Hubbard and Jonathan Greenleaf, "An Account of Wells", Collections of the Maine Historical Society, Series 1, I (Portland: Bailey and Noyes, 1865), pp. 336-362.

⁶E. E. Bourne, History of Wells and Kennebunk(Portland: B. Thurston and Co., 1875), pp. 165-8.

might have made a mistake in the name, or the historians might have. It is of course reasonable to suppose that Whittier might prefer as a spokesman of disbelief in witchcraft and an advocate of religious toleration a person not well known to history, and one connected with the northern colonies rather than with Massachusetts. Exactly where Whittier got his information concerning Mr. Russ, or Buss, remains somewhat uncertain. Most of the sources cited were in print. It has already been mentioned that his mother was familiar with the traditions of New Hampshire and Maine.

After Dr. Russ finishes his sermon, some of Mr. Richardson's parishioners, notably Deacon Dole and one Goodwife Matson, object to it. Deacon Dole says it is "such a discourse as a Socinian or a Papist might have preached."¹ This Deacon Dole is evidently Richard Dole, who came from Bristol to Newbury in 1639, according to Coffin.² Coffin calls him "Marchant" Dole and says he is the progenitor of all the Doles in Newbury. He seems to have been a rather active and somewhat important citizen, but I am unable to find that he was ever Deacon. Whittier does not follow sources very closely for his character. Besides the information given in Coffin, who is the best source, more may be found in Farmer,³ (who cites Coffin), and the Court Records of Essex County.⁴ I find no expression of ideas by Dole in any of the sources, but Whittier's choice of a propertied man for reactionary sentiments is understandable.

Whittier represents Dole as a slaveholder. Coffin's quotation of his will shows a bequest of a negro boy Tom to one

¹Journal, p. 106.

²History of Newbury, p. 31.

³Genealogical Register, p. 85.

⁴Records and Files of Quarterly Courts of Essex County, VI, 54, 125, 148, 162-4, 189, 414, 422; VII, 94.

of his children.¹ In the Journal the Deacon's slave Tom is a one-eyed Indian who gets drunk and causes a scene. If the Tom of the will is really a boy, he is probably a son of an older slave, for in the Essex Court Records we find an entry of September 24, 1678, involving a whipping of "Tom, Richard Dole's negro" for fornication.² It seems unlikely that Dole would have had an Indian and a negro slave of the same name at the same time.

Whittier on December 6, 1678, calls the Deacon a widower of three years standing, and has him paying court to Edward Rawson's spinster cousin and later marrying his housekeeper, one Widow Barnet.³ Coffin says that Richard Dole's first wife died November 16, 1678, and that he married a widow Brocklebank, March 4, 1679.⁴ Whittier greatly lengthens the period of bereavement. Whittier mentions a son Moses.⁵ Richard Dole had no son Moses, but did have a grandson of that name, born in 1688.⁶

After delivering the sermon to which Deacon Dole objects, Mr. Russ tells Margaret Smith about the case of Jonathan Atherton, a sick man who is petitioning the General Court for relief from a penalty inflicted on him for an alleged profanation of the Sabbath,⁷ and shows her his copy of the petition and the court's refusal to grant it. Farmer's and Savage's genealogies record only one Jonathan Atherton.⁸ He was of Dorchester, and was born about 1637. I can not find any history of the case or any copy of the petition in the statehouse records; there is, however, a

¹History of Newbury, 9. 336.

²Records and Files of Quarterly Courts of Essex County, VII, p. 94.

³Journal, pp. 134-7, 148.

⁴History of Newbury, pp. 300-301.

⁵Journal, p. 135.

⁶History of Newbury, p. 301.

⁷Journal, pp. 107-108.

⁸Farmer, Genealogical Register, p. 20; Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, pp. 72-3.

record of its refusal, differing somewhat from Whittier's, which purports to be a true copy. Whittier has, "Aug. 1676.--The Council sees no cause to grant the Petitioner any relieve."¹ The Court Records of June, 1677, read, "In answer to the petition of Jonathan Atherton, the Court, on perusal thereof, declare, they see no reason to grant his request therein."²

Two months after her return to Newbury from Maine, at the close of the year 1678, Margaret Smith goes with the Rawsons to their home in Boston. Here she spends most of the remaining half year of her visit to the colonies. With her Uncle and Aunt Rawson she makes a short journey to the small town of Reading to attend the ordination of Mr. Brock.³ Here she observes the festivity and comes in contact with many celebrities, including Simon Bradstreet, then deputy governor, Honorable Thomas Danforth, and various ministers. The young Cotton Mather, "a pert talkative lad ...but sixteen years of age" at the ordination dinner tells some stories of Mr. Brock.

Whittier's account of Mr. Brock's ordination at Reading involves the greatest anachronism in the Journal. Whittier's date is January 16, 1679. Authorities agree that the actual date was 1662.⁴ Whittier has authority, however, for stating that Mr. Brock was formerly a minister on the Isles of Shoals. The chief primary source of information on the ordination is Cotton Mather's account, and this Whittier most probably used, although he could have got the material, that is, the factual part of it, from

¹Journal, p. 108.

²Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England(Boston: W. White, 1853-4), V, 153.

³Journal, p. 140, ff.

⁴Farmer, Genealogical Register, p. 43; Williamson, History of Maine, p. 401; Mather, Magnalia, II, 35-8; Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Series 1, VII, 252-4; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, I, 247.

secondary sources of date much nearer that of the Journal.¹ The stories told by Cotton Mather about the return of the fisherman's boat and the relation between Mr. Brock's rules for religious worship and the catching of fish are included with others in the account of Mr. John Brock in the Magnalia. But the remainder of Whittier's account of the ordination, including those present and the respective functions and conduct of each, Whittier seems to have imagined on grounds of general probability.

Whittier's account of the ordination at Reading, then, does not rest upon very much historical foundation; and in so far as sources were available, Whittier did not follow them accurately, changing the date some sixteen years and inventing a role for Cotton Mather from information given in the Magnalia. Possible reasons for Whittier's distortion of history here may be that he wished to include a New England ordination in the Journal and saw advantages in using this one, and that he felt the necessity of somehow bringing Cotton Mather into his story.

Cotton Mather seems to have had a kind of fascination for Whittier almost throughout his life. His Magnalia was a leading source for Legends of New England. In New England Supernaturalism, after describing the romance in Mather's life, Whittier condemned his conduct in witchcraft and other matters bitterly.² In "The Double-Headed Snake of Newbury" he ridiculed his credulity and his shallow learning. But throughout he seems to have envied

¹The account of Mr. Brock in the Magnalia includes among other stories those told by Cotton Mather at the ordination. These are also found in the account in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register and in that in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Williamson has the one of the restoration of the fisherman's boat, but not of the relation between worship and the catching of fish. All three accounts cite the Magnalia as a source.

²J. G. Whittier, "New England Supernaturalism", Democratic Review, XIII(1843), pp. 391-2.

Mather somewhat, not for his character perhaps, but for the times he lived in and for the, in many respects, glamorous life he led.

Mather had already been for many years, when Whittier wrote the Journal, as he still continues to be today, a center of controversy for historical writers. His leading calumniator was probably James Savage, the genealogist and editor, who let no opportunity pass to ridicule his historical inaccuracies and his "voracious appetite and ill digestion of learning."¹ Charles W. Upham in his Lectures on Witchcraft imputed to the two Mathers a major share of the blame for New England witchcraft frenzies.² Samuel G. Drake, editor of the New England Genealogical Register and leading writer on the North American Indians, was inclined to defend Mather.³ Eliot in his Biographical Dictionary said that although Mather was a man of immense learning and although every writer on Massachusetts affairs was much indebted to him, he was because of his prolix narrations and strange style, in little credit with the present generation.⁴ W. B. O. Peabody in his biography in 1836 said that it was impossible to deny that the reputation of Cotton Mather had declined in late years.⁵ Alexander Young in 1841 wrote a footnote disparaging Cotton Mather as an authentic historian.⁶ He said that Neal, Robertson, De Tocqueville, and Grahame had all regarded him highly, but that Savage was right in attributing to him more errors of carelessness than

¹John Winthrop, Journal, I, 183, 417; II, 24, 222, 275.

²See Chapter IV.

³New England Historical and Genealogical Register, VII (1853), 367.

⁴John Eliot, A Biographical Dictionary (Boston: Edward Oliver, 1809), Preface, pp. iv, v.

⁵W. B. O. Peabody, Cotton Mather (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Co., 1836), p. 170.

⁶Alexander Young, Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1841), p. 30.

any other writer on the history of New England.

It is evident that in the period of the Journal Cotton Mather had become something of a scapegoat for carrying the opprobrium attached to certain episodes in New England history, even among Puritan writers. Whittier's attitude toward him, brought out much more in other writings than in the Journal, where he occupied only a minor role because of his youth, is scarcely more inimical than was the fashion of the times. Since Cotton Mather was so much written upon in the period, if Whittier was making a study of early Puritanism,¹ he could hardly have left him out of the Journal entirely.

In March, Margaret Smith, being troubled with a cough after her winter in Boston, is visited and given remedies by one Goody Lake, a widow who has lived for a time in the home of Governor Endecutt at Naumkeag, and who talks at length about historical matters, including witchcraft, and more especially, the Quaker persecutions,² bringing into the relations the historical figures of Simon and Anne Bradstreet,³ John Endicott, and the Reverend John Norton. The name of Lake is easily found among the first families of New England. Farmer names a John Lake, a freeman in Boston in 1644, a Thomas Lake, freeman at Boston in 1641, and a William Lake, who was at Salem in 1665, also a Captain Lake killed in Maine in 1676.⁴ Any one of these could have been the husband of Goody Lake of the Journal. Whittier probably did not set much store by her identity, for he uses her only to bring into the Journal material of a date earlier than 1678-9.

The Quaker persecutions figure in all early New England

¹See Chapter IV.

²Journal, p. 177 ff.

³Here spelled Broadstreet. See Appendix (of complete dissertation, on file only in the University of Chicago Libraries).

⁴John Farmer, Genealogical Register, p. 172.

histories; it would thus be next to impossible to ascertain definitely Whittier's sources, but his account seems to depend most heavily on that of William Sewel, in his History of the Quakers.¹ Whittier's portrayal of the tempering influence of Anne Bradstreet and Mrs. Rawson seems to be included in the Journal on grounds of probability rather than on actual basis in historical records.

Most of May, her last whole month in the Colonies, Margaret Smith spends in a visit in Rhode Island upon the invitation of her brother, now settled there with his Quaker wife, the former Margaret Brewster. She is accompanied on the journey by Mr. John Easton and his sister, and while in the Plantations meets Governor Nicholas Easton. Whittier's comment on Rhode Island includes material which is largely general and thus not traceable to a particular historical source. For the Eastons he probably got information from Coffin, who discusses Nicholas and John Easton as former residents of Newbury who have moved to Rhode Island.² Whittier is in error in having Nicholas living in 1679. He was Deputy Governor in 1672 and 1673 and died in 1675.³ This error Whittier may have got from Farmer's note to Belknap's History of New Hampshire, which says Nicholas Easton died in 1685.⁴ This, however, is evidently a misprint, for Farmer in his Genealogical Register says 1675.

Whittier refers to Roger Williams as "an aged man, more than four-score."⁵ According to Farmer he was born in 1599,⁶ and thus would have been just eighty in 1679. A more recent

¹A fuller discussion of the Quakers in the Journal will be given in Chapter IV (of the complete dissertation).

²History of Newbury, p. 301.

³Ibid., p. 392; Farmer, Genealogical Register, pp. 91-2; S. G. Arnold, History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1859-60), I, 370.

⁴P. 21, footnote.

⁵Journal, p. 197.

⁶Genealogical Register, p. 320.

authority thinks 1603 a more probable birth date.¹ Whittier describes Williams as an ingenious but schismatic man. His interpretation on the whole is favorable, but one gets the impression that Whittier would like to praise Williams as an apostle of toleration more unreservedly than he does.² When Whittier wrote, Williams was looked upon with considerable favor by historians as an early friend of toleration and champion of the cause of the Indians, but he had hardly yet received the full veneration which later came to him because of his exposition of democratic political ideas. In 1799 the Reverend William Bentley had precipitated a controversy by a favorable account of Williams in "A Description and History of Salem".³ The thing which New England Puritan historians seem to have resented most in Williams was his attack upon what he called the "hireling ministry". Whittier does not mention this, but as a Quaker he naturally would have approved it. James Savage in his 1826-7 edition of Winthrop's Journal, said that the biography of Williams had received less attention than it deserved; Hubbard, Morton, and Mather had done him less than justice; the historian of Salem (Wm. Bentley, evidently) and the author of the New England Biographical Dictionary (John Eliot), however, had given him due honor.⁴ Savage praised his championship of liberty of conscience and his treatment of the Indians and research into their language. William Gammell in 1845⁵ called him a friend of toleration and of the Indians, and was especially eulogistic on

¹James Ernst, Roger Williams, New England Firebrand (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932), p. 6.

²Journal, pp. 166-97.

³William Bentley, "A Description and History of Salem", Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Series 1, VI (1799), 245 ff. (See Vols. VII [1800] and VIII [1802] for controversy.)

⁴John Winthrop, Journal. I, 41-2, 53, 151, 162-3, 175-6.

⁵William Gammell, Roger Williams (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1845), pp. 196, 200.

his advocacy of liberty of conscience.

I have found no original for Whittier's Indian Umpachee, whom Margaret Smith encounters in Rhode Island.¹ Whittier was familiar with Roger Williams's Brief Observations and Key to the Indian Language,² and with at least a part of the rather copious literature on the labors of John Eliot among the Indians.³ Umpachee may well be an imaginary character, created as a type of the Indian as Roger Williams and other sympathetic New England Colonists interpreted him.⁴

As already noted, the account of Rebecca's wedding and events of the Sequel to the Journal, follow closely the material found in Coffin's History of Newbury.

From the foregoing it is clear that Whittier made considerable use of actual historical materials in his composition of Margaret Smith's Journal. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, some of the chief sources for the Parts of the Journal dealing respectively with Newbury, Maine, Boston, and Rhode Island, may be definitely named. The number which Whittier probably, or possibly, used somewhat, is very large and cannot be definitely fixed.

The characters of the Journal are with very few exceptions historical persons. Many of the events are traceable to accounts in actual historical sources, but others Whittier supplied imaginatively on grounds of general probability. Whittier's interpre-

¹He does not appear in the Indian studies of Heckewelder, Schoolcraft, Drake, or Thatcher, or in Colonial histories, that I have been able to discover.

²See notes to Narrative and Legendary Poems, Works, I, 429-30.

³Reference to Eliot in review of "Evangeline", Works, VII, 372. See Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Series 3, IV (1834) for a reprint of a large part of this material.

⁴Whittier's treatment of the Indians in the Journal will be discussed more fully in Chapter IV.

tations impress the reader of his sources as being on the whole fair and lifelike, but show some evidence that the Quaker writer was presenting Colonial New England history from a point of view different from the prevailing one.

We may say, then, that Margaret Smith's Journal does show that "general accordance with historical verities and probabilities" which Whittier claimed for it, and that it is the "life-like picture" of the publisher's advertisement. Clearly, however, it is not "almost line by line, a transcript and imaginative interpretation of old letters, journals, and memoirs," as asserted by Carpenter, for Whittier made much more use of secondary sources than of the original documents. Whittier, writing partly as literary artist, partly as controversialist, utilized his studies in Colonial writings and his familiarity with tradition, but he shows also a keen awareness of the historical researches of his contemporaries.

